3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

133 The extensive basin-shaped plains of eastern Albania—especially the plain of Metova in the upper region of the White Drin Valley, and the plains of Kosova and Tetova—are important to Albania. There are many lakes in these regions.

463 Agriculture and cattle raising are the principal occupations, with olives, the making of 241 olive oil, grains and tobacco being the prin- 135 cipal products of the country. But there is great mineral wealth (asphalt, arsenic, copper, iron, lead, lignite, naphtha, oil, and other mineral resources), which is largely yet undeveloped, and with time, possibly a very short time, through the development of the great abundance of these natural resources, including the fisheries, they will become the principal resources of the country.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

586 Kadi, his wife may claim to be released from her vows to him. Other sufficient causes for divorce are ill-treatment, aberration of mind, and excessive corpulence on the part of the husband.

562 463 The Moslem Albanian, when he marries, is, like the Osmanli, bound to provide his wife with food, clothes, and shelter in keeping with his position and means, and cannot require her, as do the Christians, to earn money for herself or for him by her labour. She, on her side, is required to obey her husband and never oppose his wishes, to abstain from anything likely to annoy or vex him, and to watch over the interests of the family, and, if poor, she must do the work of the house, cook the food, do the dairy work, spin the [283] wool and flax necessary for the family use. The Albanian generally has no fondness for field labour, which he usually leaves to the women, children, and old men, and, when he does not follow the calling of a soldier or trader, prefers wood-cutting, attending to his vineyard, or, still more, tending sheep on the mountains, a pursuit which combines laziness with peril.

● 463 Besides those who enter the military service, numbers seek fortune in the large towns of Turkey, as traders, *cavasses*—a kind of orderly attached to Embassies, Consulates, banks, and other public offices, in which capacity they are much esteemed for their devotion to their employers—or in other positions of trust. As soon as they have amassed sufficient money to enable them to do so, they return home and marry, in order to prove themselves respectable members of [593 591] society. After a brief sojourn in the bosom of their families they return to their employment, leaving

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

their young wives in charge of their parents. For with the Skipetars, as with the majority of Oriental peoples, patriarchal customs still survive, and all the sons bring home their brides to the paternal roof, there to remain in subjection to the parents-in-law until they shall themselves be heads of families.

The highest aspiration of an Albanian wife is to be the mother of boys, and she is less proud of her own beauty and the rank of her family than of the number of her sons and of their valour. The mother of many sons is sure of the lasting affection of her husband, enjoys the respect and consideration of the rest of his family, and wields great authority in the household to which she has come as a stranger. As they never permanently leave the paternal roof, she may look forward to their support and affection in her old age, and to see their children growing up around her. When her husband leaves his home for a sojourn at a distance, custom requires that she should manifest no grief at his departure. Instead of accompanying him to the threshold, and watching his familiar figure disappear in the distance, or going to meet him on his arrival, she hides herself at both the moment of his arrival and of his departure. A woman's tears or joy, they say, must not soften a man's heart when his duty lies before him. Neither must they ask for news of them at any time during their absence. Yet in the depth of their hearts no wives more regret the absence of their husbands, as the touching little superstitious observances with which they console themselves testify. Unknown to their partners, they sew in their clothes

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

over the infant. In the case of a boy all now touch the cradle while they sing:

Poganik, When the boy grows a man,
A weaver we'll make him,
And money he'll bring us.[1]

And for a girl:

Poganik, When our girl grows up tall,
She shall go to the valley
And bring us much water.

The company now separate, each person carrying home with her a piece of the Poganik cake, which is believed to possess beneficial qualities, and distributes it among the members of her household. When they have left, honey and other delicacies are laid out for the refection of the Fateful Three, the dogs are shut up, and the gates left open.

Until the baby is forty days old neither mother nor child must leave the house, nor, after sunset, the room, for fear of supernal beings. During this period the fire is carefully kept up, and an ember of it must on no account be given to a neighbour, or all kinds of evil will ensue. Whoever has occasion to enter the house after nightfall, must leap over a firebrand laid on the threshold. Music and singing are also rigidly refrained from for fear of attracting the powers of the air.

The ceremony of naming the child is performed by the Christian Albanians according to the baptismal rite of the churches to which they respectively

[1] Weaving was formerly a trade in high repute with the artisan class of Albanians, who left their homes to work in the towns where it was carried on.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

if compelled to do so, in order to show how great is her regret at leaving the paternal roof.[1] In fact, her behaviour throughout is intended to typify her reluctance to exchange the single for the married state. Meantime the guests divert themselves with liqueurs, coffee, and sweets, and the performances of the professional musicians hired for the occasion.

About ten o'clock a cart arrives from the bridegroom's abode to fetch the bride's baggage, which is packed in a large wooden box ornamented with designs of flowers rudely executed. When it starts every one shouts, "*Per heir*" (Good luck!), and among the Christians, several women accompany the cart outside the gate, sprinkling both it and its contents with holy water. A few minutes afterwards, all the male guests invited by the bridegroom's friends set out, preceded by his father, who leads a richly caparisoned horse on which the bride will ride home. As they leave the house the women sing:

Happy may thy journey be,
Eldest of our family.
Holy sign of cross now make,
To the right thy way then take.
If to us thou bring fair bride,
May the sugar-plums taste sweet,
If a foul one by thy side
That they bitter taste were meet.

Arrived at their destination, the party range themselves around the courtyard, where glasses of cognac and water, and sweets and sugar-plums of various kinds

[1] The Mongols of Tibet observe a similar custom. See *Journal of Sarat Chandra Das*, published by the Royal Geographical Society.

101 intermarriages were recorded between Podrima people and Has tribesmen from the Albanian side of the border.

124 The 20 others were outsiders in Albanian-controlled Gheg tribal territory. Sixteen came from the large market town of Big Dibra (Dibra e Madhe to the Albanians, Debar to the Serbs) in Yugoslavia, which contains a mixed population of Albanians, Serbs, and a few Turks. One was a Serbian-speaking Moslem from the alien *bairak* of Gorë which forms part of the tribe of Luma; his home lay also beyond the border. Another was an Albanian from the town of Jakova. Two others came from inside Ghegnia but outside the tribal territory—from Krujë and Elbasan, respectively.

These 20 men were all first-generation immigrants. There was no older generation like them. I measured none of their sons, and thus this particular immigration had had no effect on our series. All of them were specialists in some kind of technology. Through the study of the data on occupations given in our tabulations we can discover the exact situation of these people.

124 In our series of 1102 men, 36 occupations
●463 were listed. These may be grouped into 7 classes: extractive, processing, services, transport, trade, political, and religious. Their distribution among the 10 tribes and 44 "others" is as follows:

1 [See p. 11d - Analyst]

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

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463

	Total	Extr.	Proc.	Serv.	Trans.	Trade	Pol.	Rel.
MeM	105	101		1		2	1	
Duk	106	103					3	
MeJ	104	87		2	1	7	7	
Has	114	102	11					1
Lum	109	79		1		2	25	2
Puk	102	87		3		1	11	
Mir	101	89	4	1		1	6	
Zad	105	104					1	
Mat	104	80	2	2			20	
Dib	108	75	7		3	11	9	3
Others	44	23	7	2		7	4	1
	1102	930	31	12	4	31	87	7

[121] [1] Haberlandt, 1917; Nopcsa, 1925; Start, 1939; Traeger, 1904. 1/1

1/1 [pertains to text, cat. 116, p. 11 b --Analyst]

124
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Extractive: Of the 930 men so listed, 926 were farmers, 3 shepherds, one a woodcutter. The woodcutter and one shepherd came from Luma, the other shepherd from Mirdita. Eighty-five per cent of all inhabitants of Ghegnia measured are farmers, 88 per cent of all tribesmen.

Processing: Twelve occupations are listed under processing: charcoal burner, blacksmith, tinsmith, carpenter, saddler, hatter, tailor, shoemaker, butcher, baker, cook, and pastry cook.

[391]

The 2 charcoal burners, the smith, and the carpenter were Mirdites. Their occupations are mutually dependent. As a rule iron goods are imported, and distributed by merchants in the towns. Axe heads, sickles, billhooks, and other tools of familiar Iron Age shapes are produced by craftsmen in the larger centers, such as Scutari, for the mountain trade. Minor metallurgy is usually carried on by gypsies.

The other specialists fall into a different class. None were mountain men, except one cook and one baker, both natives of Mati, who worked in the new prefecture headquarters established at Bureli, within Mati territory, by King Zog. They were there because of the impact of the new central government on the mountain tribes. Neither of these men had long been professionals.

The tinsmith, the saddler, and the hatter were natives of Peshkopia, the principal town of Dibra. Of the 3 tailors in this town, one was a native, one had come from Big Dibra, and the third from Jakova. The butcher, one of the 2 bakers, and the cook measured in Peshkopia were Big Dibra men. The pastry cook worked in Kukës, in Luma. This leaves 11 bakers. These men all came from Gonaj and neighboring villages in Has, within walking distance of Prizren. Baking is their traditional hereditary occupation. They get their flour from the gristmills of Prizren and sell their bread in that city. Many of these Hasi bakers migrate to distant cities to work. Mr. Anthony Stevens, our guide, and an employee of the U. S. State Department, began life as one of these bakers; as a boy he went to Cincinnati to work in a bakery.

It can be seen that within Gheg tribal territory processing techniques are practised almost exclusively in the eastern borderlands.

361 Peshkopia has grown rapidly because the international boundary commission of 1913 cut off the Dibra mountaineers from their natural market town of Big Dibra. Hence many of the Big Dibra men moved to Peshkopia, which is just inside Albania. In the same way Prizren was cut off from the Luma people, who built up Kukës; Jakova from the Malsia e Jakovës men, who also go to Kukës. On the western side no such disturbance has taken place. Scutari, Lesh, and Kruja now, as for centuries past, serve as market towns for the mountain people.

124 *Services*: Only 12 men are listed under
● 463 "services." Two of these are innkeepers. One is a Puka man, host at Rrap, his native place. The other is an outsider, a Kruja man, whose inn is at Gur i Bardh in Mati. Kruja men specialize in innkeeping, and in the heyday of Ottoman power might be found all over the Turkish Empire, including Asia Minor. These *hanjis* marry in Kruja, and do not mix with the populations in the regions in which they do their business.

Three men were restaurant-keepers: one Koplik man, whose shop was presumably in Scutari, a Luma man, and a Malsia e Jakovës man, with shops in Kukës. The barber was a Malsia e Jakovës man, working in Kukës. Of the 2 waiters, one was a local man serving the gendarmes in their post at Puka, the other a Big Dibra man working in the hotel in Peshkopia, a new institution. Of the 3 listed as servants, all were local. One served the prefect and another the teacher in the new government center in Bureli. The third worked for a priest in Mirdita.

Of the 12 "services" listings, 9 can be accounted for as a result of recent political events.

[494] *Transport*: Transportation in Ghegnia in 1929 meant but one thing—the services of *kiragis*, those incredibly tough horse-drivers who would take you and your goods anywhere, and try to raise the price on the road, once you were at their mercy. Three out of 4 came from Dibra, and one from Malsia e Jakovës. As far as I know, all *kiragis*, like all *hanjis*, are Moslems.

[441] *Trade*: All merchants in the mountain country are shopkeepers; there are no large or complex commercial institutions. Of the 31 shop-

124 keepers measured, 18 were in Peshkopia. Of
463 these, 11 were locals, and 7 Big Dibra immigrants. Six shopkeepers were measured in Kukës, all Malsia e Jakovës men; 2 in Bicaj, a Luma village, were local. One Malsia e Jakovës man was measured in his own shop in Kolgecs, a local town. Thus 25 out of the 31 shopkeepers came from the eastern borderlands, from big towns or their neighborhood. The situation is the same as with the craftsmen whose goods they sell.

Four shopkeepers remain: 2 are from Malsia e Madhe, one with his shop in Scutari, the other at home. Of the other 2, one is a local in Puka, the other a local in Mirdita. The Mirdita man, who has the only shop in that tribe, claimed that his father was an Austrian officer who begat him during World War I. This would give him a maximum possible age of 14 years at the time of measuring. He was at least 30.

TECHNOLOGY, A REVIEW

000 From the foregoing study of the non-somatological data collected in our series,[1] and from what is generally known of the material culture of the Ghegs, we can make a brief summary, keeping in mind always our main purpose, to define the economic elements in the cultural situation within which the Ghegs live.

326 Cutting tools are of iron. They are made by
391 blacksmiths in the market towns in which the Ghegs do their trading. In Scutari, for example, there is a whole quarter devoted to smiths, most if not all of whom are gypsies. With hammer and tongs, a small anvil, and a pair of foot-pump bellows they forge nearly all of the metal objects needed by the mountaineers in their farming, herding, transport, and household carpentry. They make small anvils, hammers, nails, axes, adzes, knives, ploughshares, shovels, hoes, toothed sickles, billhooks, beam ties, door hinges, horseshoes, horse hobbles, chains, bits, firetongs, andirons, tripods, lighting racks, and probably other articles which have escaped our attention.[2]

326 There is no smelting in the neighborhood of Ghegnia. The iron which the smiths use is all imported. Although city blacksmiths can

[2] Haberlandt's, Nopcsa's, and mine. The best account of this is to be found in Haberlandt, 1917, p. 90.

--13a--

[1] [see cat. 116, pp. 11a-13a--Analysis]

264 least 15, with as many more waiting patiently for second table, and the dishes included a whole roast sheep, which the Major picked apart with his hands and distributed.

463 252 265 Professional cooks are found only in the towns and in new government stations. In Prizren and Scutari, many of these cooks are Turks and their dishes consist mostly of mutton with various kinds of vegetables. Personally I found this cuisine very tasty. They also make a fine *yughurt*. Pastry cooks form another special group, and concentrate on *baklava* and *kadaif*, the two honey desserts familiar to eaters in Greek restaurants in all countries. Although their products may be carried into the mountains, the pastry cooks themselves stay at home.

262 The mountaineers obtain almost all of their own food by farming and herding. Hunting provides little or none for most families, and the same is true of fishing. Along the Black Drin, just above Kukës, a few fish are sometimes caught, and welcomed in the kitchen. In Prizren, fresh river fish are sold in the market. But fish is an insignificant element in the Mountain Gheg diet. The same is true of wild vegetable products, shoots, berries, and the 594 like, collected by women. Furthermore each 261 family produces practically all of its own food, except for a little coffee and tea, and a bit of sugar and salt. Most families are too poor to afford these imported luxuries often. The significance of the absolute self-sufficiency of the Ghegs in their food supply is linked with local differences in geology, and must have a profound effect upon differences in physique attendant on diet.

241 [594] Farming is a family affair. The man buys the iron implements which he needs in town, and makes the rest of wood. He breaks the soil with a spade, and ploughs it with oxen. As he ploughs each furrow, his wife walks behind him with a basket of seed, sowing it. Later the women will do the weeding, and the whole family comes out to reap. If the crop is wheat, they cut off each head of grain with a sickle and put the heads in a bag; if maize, they pick the ears and braid the husks for drying. They thresh small grains and beans with flails. When the tobacco leaves are ripe, the men cut them carefully and hang them on their verandas or the sides of their houses to cure. -18b-

491 animals to cross, and have waded up to my chin at night, with snow on either bank. When the streams are swollen, animals and men are not infrequently drowned. There is or was an old Turkish bridge across the White Drin, from Kukës to the northern bank (fig. 9, *b*). Several wooden bridges crossed the Black Drin in Dibra. On the road from Krasniqi to Shoshi, I have crossed a bridge which consisted of 2 poles, one to walk on, the other a little higher and to one side, to use as a rail.

501 In a few places, ferry boats are available, which operate by the principle of changing the mooring position of the cable after each crossing, so that the power of the stream will push the boat diagonally across to the other bank. There was one such at Kukës across the Black Drin, another at Bureli over the Mati. Other observers have witnessed Ghegs crossing these streams on inflated skins, but I have never seen it.

Navigation in Ghegnia is very limited. Although Nopcsa has a picture of a man in a boat at Merturi, I have seen it only on the lower course of the Drin, between Vau i Denjës and Scutari, where special boatmen ferry passengers to town in a few hours, to save the day's march over the road. These boats are long dugout canoes, usually double. The boatman propels them by sculling, like the gondoliers of Venice. The men who run the ferries, and these boatmen on the lower Drin, are without doubt specialists, as nearly fulltime as the traffic requires. Probably not more than a dozen men ply these trades. Much more numerous are the *kiragis*, the professional horse-drivers who may be seen on all of the roads in Moslem country, and in some Catholic tribes as well. The *kiragis* in our series were Dibra men, but others come from outside the tribal area, from such places as Elbasan and Tirana.

494 463

The *kiragi* is a hard-bitten man, disillusioned early in life by a close observation of human behavior under stress, since all travel in Ghegnia is difficult. He is a non-combatant, a man with no family ties in the regions in which he works, and not worth killing. Anyone who robs him too often will keep trade away and cut off the supply of needed imports. He will rent out anywhere from one to a half dozen horses, to go anywhere the road will take him, and the rate per day has to be argued over at length. He insists on taking grain for his

1/1 [See cat. 116, p. 109--Analyst]

494
463 horses at the customer's expense, and will refuse to go on if the grain is exhausted. All kinds of situations arise to produce arguments between *kiragi* and customer, such as the unexpectedly high price of grain in a certain place, inn charges, and the condition of the horses.

Besides carrying passengers and their goods, the *kiragi* will do errands; he will carry goods to market without their owners, sell them, and take his commission; then he will bring back a specified list of purchased objects. He must be reasonably honest or he will lose the traffic. At the same time the mountaineers who hire him are spared the risk of crossing hostile territory.

[473] *Kiragis* are either in business for themselves or in partnership, or working on shares with an investing capitalist. Since Islam prohibits interest, the share system is the one employed. It is not big business, for the maximum number of persons involved will not exceed a half dozen, including the boys whom the *kiragi* takes with him to help with the horses. It is, however, one of the few ways in which the otherwise closed country of the Gheg mountaineers is systematically and constantly penetrated. In 1929 there must have been at least a hundred such professionals on the roads every day.

485 In Moslem country the principal roads are equipped, at appropriate distances, with inns. As with tourist cabins in the United States, it is best to start at daybreak or earlier, and get in well before sunset, for the inns are often full well before night. The usual inn consists of 3 rooms; a large stable, which occupies about three-fourths of the whole; a chamber with a low ceiling built into one corner of the building, some 14 feet wide by 30 or 40 feet long, with a fireplace at the far end; and a cubicle which serves as the *hanji's* (innkeeper's) private quarters, office, and store.

When you enter the inn, the *hanji* sees that you unload your animals, and assigns them space in the stable. He has straw there, and sometimes grain if you have not brought your own. Then he gives each guest a section of the floor, which is divided into 3 strips, the 2 on the sides being about 6 feet wide, and the center one, 2 feet. Guests sleep side by side on the lateral strips, with the center reserved as a passageway. The guests feed themselves.

124 619 [463] elders,[4] 8 *bairaktars*,[5] and 5 retainers of a tribal prince, Jon Markajon of Mirdita (fig. 10, *a*). Except for the chief elder of Karashegeç in Has, who was a baker, all of the elders, chief elders, and *bairaktars* were farmers. The baker was "mayor" of a village of bakers, outside the mountain area. All of these men were locals, born of local fathers and mothers taken from within the father's tribe. Preferences are thus shown for (a) agriculture as against handicrafts or trade, and (b) local as against outside descent.

Jon Markajon, the only tribal chief whom we met, and who entertained us very well at his capital in Orosh, would not allow us to measure him, although he summoned all of his subjects from nearby villages. The 5 retainers whom we measured in his house constituted his princely staff. Three of them were part-time farmers, and 2, full-time political employees. What their exact duties and titles were, we did not determine. The ancient tribal government of Ghegnia, if we may judge by the example of Mirdita, the one tribe in which it survived more or less intact until 1929, consisted of a graded hierarchy with three steps—elders and their chief, *bairaktars*, and tribal prince. Attached to the prince was his staff of special messengers, chamberlains, and guards.

619 642

The tribal government was in the hands of the prince and his council, which consisted of all of the elders of the tribe, with their chief elders, and the *bairaktars*. The heads of large and powerful households, even if they held no formal office, would be included. The council met in cases of murder within the tribe, of intertribal warfare, invasion, or other crises involving violence. It also met to decide on its own composition, i.e., to hear the petitions of neighboring *bairaks* to join it.

[623]

619 643

The strength of the prince as compared to that of the council depended on the former's personality. During the last 50 years, for example, Mirdita has been ruled by the following princes: Bib Doda, a great and powerful man who died about 1913; Preng Bib Doda, his son, who was killed shortly after in a blood

[4] Nine from Malsia e Madhe, 1 Has, 4 Mirdita, 4 Zadrima, 3 Mati, and 1 Dibra.

[5] [see cat. 116, p. 110 -- Analyst]

prevent enemies from climbing it and from piercing a hole in it to fire on the defenders from above, something that has often happened. Finally, the lavatory is built inside the house. 342 712 [514]

Just as the house of Scodra is the highest point in the evolution of Albanian housig architecture, so is the Kula, according to Nopcsa, the most complete form of defensive houses.

The word Kula is of Arabic origin, and has already been met in Byzantine writers since the 11th century (1). Morever it is also known by the Serbs as early as 1350. Consequently, no Turkish intervention for the construction of the Kula, it is said by Nopcsa, was ever required.

The particular scope determines the building material, plan, dimensions and other construction details of such houses. These buildings are high, towerlike, built of solid stone, providing the greatest possible cover. Narrow loopholes are opened instead of windows, and small towers are built in well selected defensive places.

A veranda and a Kula mutually exclude each other, because if conditions of security allow the building of a house with an open prostoon, same conditions would render the construction of a kula useless. And vice-versa, nobody would ever think of constructing such a type of dwelling, where there is a danger that a veranda might be burned down at night time. This is confirmed by the geographical expansion of the «shpi» (house) and the «kula» (fortified house). Thus, there is a complete absence of typical, towerlike «kulas» in Melcija Madhe, Zadrima, which is situated in a plain, as well as in Bregubuns and Bregumatja, areas that enjoy greater security. On the contrary, in areas where statistics of crime show that a 21-32% of all deaths are caused by murder, we find the kula, while houses with a prostoon are absent. Because of the custom of vengence male members of many families are bound inside their kula for years. [682] [627]

As for the origin of these tower-form houses which, according to Nopcsa, were multiplied in Middle Albania between the years 890 and 1274, Haberlandt believes that from a house-building point of view, they must be derived from the towers and donjons propagated [177] [463]

1) **Anna Komnini**, 2, 124 Bonn: Τὴν μέντοι ἀκρόπολιν, ὅπερ κουλὰ τὸν ἡ συνήθεια καλεῖν ἔωθεν, ἔτι Κελτοὶ κατεῖχον... (The acropolis, which is now by habit called kula, was occupied by Celts...) **G. Kedrinos**, 2, 366: Ὁ Βούρτζης ἰσχυσε λαβεῖν τὸ μέτρον ἑνὸς τῶν πρὸς δύσιν Ἀντιοχείας πύργων, Κάλα τοὔνομα... (Vourtzes had power enough as to take possession of a tower, called Kala, at the West of Antiocheia...)

9:Megas 1,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Albania EG1

in Central and Southern Europe from the 12th to the 15th centuries. He moreover tends to consider their «naturalisation» as the work of travelling builders, who belonged to the builders' guilds, because of the fact that they are called «mastori» in Albania.

Nopcsa remarks to the above, (p. 54) that the word «maistor» has been used in Serbia since 1350 and that it is common in Byzantium in the form of «Protomaistor». It would, however, be more correct to say that the words «maistor» and «protomaistor» that originate in the Latin word «magister» (earlier: μάγιστρος, μαγίστωρ) have had the meaning of a nobleman or a teacher first, and later that of

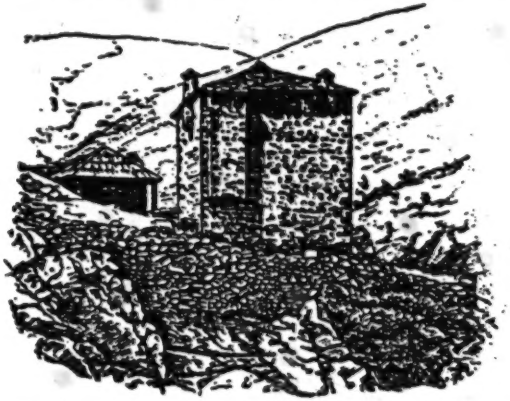

Fig. 75. A kula in Sapatsi, in the area of the Berisha tribe
(Nopcsa, fig. 41)

a craftsman and a master-artisan, since the first Byzantine years; and they are used in exactly the same spelling in modern Greek language, under exactly the same form as in Albania, i.e. mastoras-mastoroi and protomastoras. A great number of villages in Epirus, Western Mecedonia and the Pindus, especially in the areas of Konitsa, Korytsa, Metsovon, Malakassi, Houliarades, Tzoumerka and Voïon, are known as «Μαστοροχώρια» (builders' villages[1]), because almost all their inhabitants have been builders by profession centuries ago. For months on end, carrying the tools of their craft, they travelled all over the Balcan peninsula as far as Bucharest and Constantinople, and more so in Epirus and Albania, in groups or guilds, under the leadership

1) Sophocles' Dictionary: Μάγιστρος and Μαγίστωρ: master-workman, master-builder.

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Albania EG1

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of a masterbuilder (1). Haberlandt is then right when he states that the construction of Albanian towers was the work of travelling builder's guilds. The origin, however, of these builders must not be sought, as Haberlandt suggests, in the countries over the Adriatic and in Southern Italy; neither, as Nopcsa thinks, in Northern Italy and the Alpine regions, but in the Balkan peninsula itself, in an area which is very near to Albania as well, and whose inhabitants knew both the Albanian language and their customs well, so that they could freely enter that rough and inhospitable country. (2).

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It is true that in Greece towers are only found in Mani, because social conditions and especially the vendetta have made defensive measures against personal and family enemies necessary, exactly as in Chimara and Albania. Before the liberation of Thessaly, however, the system of the above fortified towers was widely prevalent there,

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1) Here below I am giving a translation of a recently published survey by Mrs. **A. Hadjimihali**: «La maison grecque». «Each of these builders' villages has specialised in some part of building. Certain villages supplied builders, others decorators, others painters, woodworkers, etc. All these builders were known under the general name of «μαστόροι», whatever their speciality was. The master- builders, each leading a group of builders, formed notable guilds known under the local name of «λυάφι». In Yannena, the builders' guild counted about 450 members, belonging to various branches of building art.

Each master-builder was the head of a group of about 10-20 men. Groups, however, who undertook big construction projects, had sometimes up to 100 men: builders, marble sculpters, decorators, painters, carpenters, turners, woodcarvers, etc. These builder guilds were leaving their villages under the leadership of their masters towards the middle of February and went to the place where work had been found. Their departure was cause for feasts, and so was their return in December, or round Christmas to the latest. (A desctription of these fiests is given here). These guilds were thus travelling from Macedonia and Epirus, all over the Balkan peninsula as far as Bucharest, Constantinople and even Asia Minor. Buildings constructed by these groups are found in all these countries: Graceful bridges on bold arches, famous churches, monasteries, immense caravan serajs, houses of noblemen, public buildings, palaces, minarets, mosques, bell-towers, etc.» (L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Serie B, year 3, (1949) p. 250)

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See also note 2 on page 79. Builders of Epirus, who have constructed the beautiful noblehouses of Western Macedonia, seem to be fully aware of the value and perfection of their work. One of the most beautiful houses of Siatista, built in 1754, has the following inscription on a glass pane: «Should you ask, my lords, what builder built this house, Nacos is his name, and he comes from Konitsa». (Ὁ Φάρος τῆς Βορ. Ἑλλάδος, 1939 p. 242).

2) **Ph. Koukoules.** Περὶ τὴν βυζαντινὴν οἰκίαν, p. 117.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1
Contemporary Macedonians EF8

A Y

Other alien materials are small pieces of dyed cloth, silk ribbons, silver and gold braids and manufactured lace, often used on the sleeve edges of shirts. These materials were bought in the village shops and markets, and appear to be largely of Austrian and Italian origin; under Turkish rule they were sold in the villages by pedlars.

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In the South and Albania, where Turkish influence is greater, there is a tendency, especially amongst the women of the towns, to wear garments made from more sumptuous materials so that, in addition to the hand-woven linens, extremely fine muslins of native make are used for shirts and aprons, and silken materials of beautiful quality for girdles, sleeves and the Moslem type of women's trousers. Fine woollen cloth from Austria and Italy is also imported for the making of jeleks, giubbas and japangi, and some of the nets used for the large embroidered veils worn by many women, both Catholic and Moslem, are of foreign origin.

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Materials used for Embroidery and other Decorative Purposes.

These also fall into two classes, home-made and purchased.

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The fine wools, used largely in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Macedonia, for the decorative embroidery of oshvitza, sleeves, woollen coats, aprons and the making of fringes are spun and dyed by the women themselves. Dark brown and black goat's hair is also used in the apron fringes. "Goat's hair was extensively used in the Balkans for weaving market bags, saddle-bags and floor mats in stripes. The goats, clipped in uneven ridges, looked very ridiculous." (M.E.D.).

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Ribbons, gold and silver braid and strips of coloured cloth were purchased and used as appliqué on skirts, head dresses, aprons and caps. In older and finer examples of embroidery, silk was used, and was locally produced and dyed.

In Albania and the south silk is the usual medium for embroidery, which decorates shirts, muslin aprons and japangi, although on some head scarves from Zadrima and the Bulgarian woman's costume from Monastir, which are decorated in the well-known Turkey red, the material used is cotton or very tightly twisted wool almost like a fine cord. Both silk, woollen and cotton threads are of home production. Amongst the photographs given by Miss Durham is one of a Moslem man spinning silk on a roadside on the outskirts of Scutari (Skodar). Gold thread is much used, and strips of beaten silver and brass are worked into the headings of braids.

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Braiding and cording are amongst the other important forms of decoration, narrow braids and ends of wool, silk and gold thread being hand plaited and twisted. Coats of the sleeveless type, both for men and women, the short jelek, the three-quarter length giubba, and the men's full trousers (Plate V. "1") are often decorated with cords and braids sewn down in beautiful curved designs. The "elaborate embroideries on the japangi and the handsome braided designs are usually the work of men Albanian tailors". (M.E.D.).

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Until in recent years foreign dyes, imported in small packets, were sold in the shops the women themselves dyed their materials. Most of the examples in this collection have been so coloured with vegetable dyes; black being obtained from ash bark (*Fraxinus excelsia*); green from flowering rush with the addition of copper sulphate which was got from the shops; yellow from sumach (*Rhus cotinus*); red

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